

# The American Observer

*A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe*

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## Congress Considers Activities of FEPC

**Future Is Uncertain for Agency Charged with Protecting Rights of Minorities**

**TASK GOT UNDER WAY DURING WAR**

**Efforts to Secure Appropriations and Congressional Approval Arouse Sharp Debate**

"We believe that racial and religious minorities have the right to live, develop, and vote equally with all citizens and share the rights that are guaranteed by our Constitution. Congress should exert its full constitutional powers to protect those rights."—Democratic Platform, 1944.

"We pledge the establishment by federal legislation of a permanent Fair Employment Practice Commission."—Republican Platform, 1944.

A few days ago Congress faced the problem of making good on these campaign pledges. Bills were pending in both houses which would establish a permanent Fair Employment Practice Committee; meanwhile a sharp fight was being waged over the question of funds for the temporary FEPC which was established by presidential order for the war period. But the goals which last summer were important enough to include in political platforms seemed suddenly unattractive to many members of both parties.

The idea of a federal agency which would "prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, creed, color, national origin, or ancestry" first gained strong support with the beginning of America's war effort. The rapid decline of unemployment and the growing shortage of labor in war centers emphasized the fact that some people could not secure certain jobs or join certain labor groups because of their race, religious beliefs, or color. Protests from minority groups swelled and mounted. Restlessness among Negro groups was particularly marked, and a threatened plan by which 100,000 Negroes would make a peaceful march on the nation's capital stirred government officials to action.

### March to Capital

The "march on Washington" never took place because in June, 1941, President Roosevelt issued an executive order declaring that employers and labor unions engaged in government contracts should refrain from discriminatory practices in employment, and creating the temporary Fair Employment Practice Committee to carry out the order. The administration defended its action on democratic principles, but pointed out in addition that more than a fifth of the nation's 130,000,000 people were members of minority groups, and that maximum war production to defeat the Axis required the full use of these groups without discrimination.

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This is our own, our native land

PAINTING BY LAWRENCE DEALL SMITH

## Your Receiving Set

By Walter E. Myer

"Man, we are told, has aspirations," says the Chinese philosopher, Lin Yutang, in his book, "The Importance of Living." "They are very laudable things to have, for aspirations are generally classified as noble," he continues. "And why not? Whether as individuals or as nations, we all dream and act more or less in accordance with our dreams. Some dream a little more than others, as there is a child in every family who dreams more and perhaps one who dreams less. And I must confess to some partiality for the one who dreams. Generally he is the sadder one, but no matter; he is also capable of greater joys and thrills and heights of ecstasy. For I think we are constituted like a receiving set for ideas, as radio sets are equipped for receiving music from the air. Some sets with a finer response pick up the finer short waves which are lost to the other sets, and, of course, that finer, more distant music is all the more precious if only because it is less easily perceivable."

I am afraid that there are a good many people whose mental and emotional receiving sets need repair or rebuilding. They can tune in on ideas that are very easily attainable or which are coarse or common, but that which is difficult or artistic or somewhat subtle escapes them. They are attuned to the comic strips in the newspapers, to gossip conversation, to crime stories, but they cannot tune in on serious conversation, or the ideas of great thinkers. Their mental receiving sets pick up cheap, sensational fiction, but do not catch the inspiration of great literature. They are attuned to jazz, but cannot hear the beauty of a symphony concert. Their receiving sets pick up breathings of hate and suspicion, but are not attuned to appeals for sympathy and justice.

But while the mind of man may be compared with a radio receiving set, the analogy is not complete. A receiving set which does not "get distance" will not be improved by use. The mind will be. One who finds that intellectually and emotionally he is attuned only to that which is cheap and coarse and common may, by act of will, turn to other things. He may try to hear the beauty of music. He may read great literature, giving it his full attention, and keeping his mind alert. He may read poetry. He may gain practice in serious conversation. By effort and practice, he may improve his receiving set so that he can pick up the finer things of life as well as the coarser. He may rebuild his set by the very act of using it. He may develop his imagination until he, too, may dream, and his dreams may remake his life. For, as our Chinese philosopher says, "Dreams descend from the world of idle visions and enter the world of reality and become a real force in our lives. However vague they are, dreams have a way of concealing themselves and leave us no peace until they are translated into reality."

## Franco Regime Faces Growing Opposition

**Latest Blow Is World Disapproval As Expressed by Action of San Francisco Meeting**

**SPANISH RESISTANCE GROUPS BUSY**

**Question Is Whether Great Turmoil Will Result from Attempts to Install New Government**

Ever since 1939, when the final victory of his Insurgent forces ended three years of bloody civil war, Generalissimo Francisco Franco has been precariously perched upon the seat of power in Spain. Axis backing, plus the support of his army and conservative elements among the Spanish people, long spelled security for his position. But two things have kept it precarious—the unquenchable hatred of Spain's Republicans and the threat of Allied hostility.

So long as he was able to keep the latter at a minimum, the former was easy to control. Not only did British and American recognition lend prestige to his regime; the reluctance of major Allied governments to offend Franco placed them in the position of supporting him against those bent upon his downfall.

Both Allied action and Allied inaction have worked to the disadvantage of Franco's enemies. Dependent upon aid from outside if they are to engineer a successful revolt within their country, Spain's Republicans have seen their hopes frustrated by United Nations policies, sometimes positive ones, sometimes negative. On the positive side there have been such gestures as Britain's refusal to let former Premier Juan Negrin engage in political activity so long as he remained on her soil. On the negative side, there has been a steady indifference to the claims and appeals of the Spanish Republicans in exile.

### A Changed Picture

Now, however, the war in Europe is over and the United Nations no longer have a strategic need to placate Franco. While the battle against Hitler was going on and Spain stood on the fence, teetering toward full military support of the Axis, the Allies had a substantial stake in trying to avoid his enmity. But with this threat gone, they can afford to appraise him in the light of his past record and of the effect his continuance in power will have on their security.

Steps already taken, both at the San Francisco Conference and in the American Congress, indicate that the leading Allied powers may be preparing for an about-face in their relations with the Franco government. At San Francisco, the United Nations delegates unanimously approved a resolution barring from present or future membership in the world security organization any country whose govern-

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There was much reconstruction to be done following the Spanish Civil War

## Trouble Ahead in Spain?

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ment came to power with Axis aid. Since Franco's victory over the Spanish Republicans was credited in large part to Italian and German arms, this constitutes a direct order for his exclusion from the United Nations community. Congressional hostility to his regime is evident in a resolution now before the House, urging immediate severance of economic and political relations with his government.

Franco's war record invites United Nations censure on numerous counts. First of all, there was his open enthusiasm for the Axis cause when it was in the ascendancy. As late as 1942, Franco declared that "the liberal world is going down," and identified Spain with the new, triumphant "Fascist peoples."

Then, too, there were his contributions to the Nazi war effort. Hitler drew much-needed supplies of wolfram from Spain throughout the most critical period of the war. Spanish workers were conscripted for service in German factories. The notorious Blue Division of Spanish soldiers fought side by side with Nazi divisions in Russia. And it was an open secret that Franco encouraged Hitler to use Spain as a headquarters for espionage.

These are all good reasons for condemning Franco. But there are even more pressing ones in the postwar threat his policies offer. The United Nations as a group have as yet no guarantee that he will not open Spain as a haven for fugitive Axis leaders. The United States has in addition the menace of his activities in Latin America to consider.

Spanish attempts to wean the Latin American nations away from the idea of hemisphere solidarity have long troubled inter-American affairs. Now that Franco has announced an expansion of his government radio broadcasting schedule for Latin America, we may anticipate even heavier broadsides of hostile propaganda in the future.

The democratic ideals of the United Nations also argue for strong measures against Franco. That his government maintains itself by dictatorial force is well known. Some estimates place the number of people in prisons and concentration camps in Spain as

high as 500,000. The leading Falangist newspaper itself admitted in 1940 that 270,719 Republicans were being held for opposition to the government. The Falange, Franco's own political organization, is the only political party permitted within the country. The press is rigidly censored, and such things as elections and civil liberties are unknown.

Why, then, should the United Nations hesitate to exert pressure which would topple Franco from power? One of the chief reasons for caution is the fear that upon his downfall Spain will be torn by another civil war. While it may be true that a majority of Spaniards, both at home and abroad, want to see him ousted, they are by no means united in their choice of a government to succeed him. Besides the Republicans, there are monarchists and others who would undoubtedly contend for power among themselves should Franco be overthrown.

Even the Republicans are seriously divided. There are two leading factions—the Spanish National Republican Union, which maintains headquarters in France, and the Spanish Committee of Liberation, which operates from Mexico. The former includes representatives of all parties from the

conservative Catholic to the radical Communist. The latter is made up primarily of liberals and radicals who oppose the Communists.

The National Republican Union draws much of its strength from the fact that, carrying on its activities from Toulouse, near the Spanish border, it has been able to keep in contact with anti-Franco groups inside Spain. It enjoys the support of the Supreme Council of National Union, an underground organization directing resistance within Spain. The Supreme Council controls guerrilla armies estimated to number between 50,000 and 100,000 men and women and claims to have the allegiance of about 80 per cent of the Spanish people.

The Spanish Committee of Liberation has as its chief assets the leadership of the most prominent members of the deposed Republican government and the support of the dominant trade union federations within Spain. Martinez Barrio, head of the Permanent Committee of the Cortes (the Spanish legislature) under the Republic, is a key personality in the Mexico group, which considers itself the only true representative of Spanish Republicanism.

Working to bring the National Union and the Committee of Liberation together, however, have been two of the old Republican government's most important officers—Premier Juan Negrin and Foreign Minister Alvarez del Vayo. Although both men are Socialists and hence hostile to the Communists, they have tried to persuade the opposing Republican groups to forget their differences in the interest of the common cause.

Negrin and del Vayo have made some progress toward uniting Spain's Republican forces. But they have not yet succeeded in bringing them under a single banner. Nor can they hope for any accord with the Spanish monarchist factions which are also waiting for the day when Franco shall be deposed.

Monarchist hopes center on Don Juan, eldest son of King Alphonso, who fled Spain in 1931. Don Juan, who has been pretender to the Spanish throne since his father's death in 1941, is in exile in Switzerland. In March of this year, he issued a manifesto, denouncing the Franco regime and setting forth a program of reform under which he proposed to rule Spain.

The United Nations fear that Franco's departure might loose forces of discord affecting their own unity as well as that of the Spanish people.

For the leading Allied powers are by no means in agreement on the question of which faction to favor. Russian sympathies, of course, lie with Communists among the Republicans. There are British leaders who favor a restoration of monarchy in Spain. The United States, presumably, would stand somewhere between the two. Fearing to make Spain another Poland, many United Nations leaders have chosen to let the situation ride.

Generalissimo Franco is putting up a bold struggle to explain away his war record, to quiet Allied objections to his dictatorial policies, and to promote the idea that only he can hold Spain together. His campaign to win United Nations approval began on a small scale after the invasion of Italy in 1943. It has gained momentum with each Allied victory and is now in full cry.

Just before Germany's surrender, Franco forbade German commercial planes to land in Spain. He announced that an inspection system for screen-



Francisco Franco

ing out Nazi war criminals was being set up. He contrived an excuse for breaking relations with Japan.

More recently, he has released most of the prisoners held since he has been in power because of Masonic affiliations. He has protested that Spain is not a dictatorship and has pledged himself to restore civil liberties. He has even hinted at his own voluntary withdrawal as Spain's political leader, suggesting that a "council of the realm" be formed to choose a king as his successor.

The United Nations have reason to distrust Franco's promises, however. They recall that he promised to withdraw the Blue Division from Russia in 1943, that he promised to cut off exports to Germany in 1944, and that he has been promising to disband the Falange for some years. They also recall that none of these things was done as scheduled. In fact, Franco more than broke the last named promise. Instead of taking steps to curtail Falange activities, he this year increased the appropriation the party receives from the national treasury.

Thus it seems likely that the action taken at San Francisco and in Congress may be the prelude to sterner measures against him. Should Franco actually follow through on his pledges of reform, he might win United Nations approval for his continuance in office. But if he continues to pursue dictatorial policies at home and anti-Allied policies in his foreign affairs, his regime is almost certainly doomed by a complete withdrawal of United Nations suzerainty and a subsequent overflow of resentments among his people.



Delivery donkeys are a familiar sight in small Spanish towns

GALLOWAY



# Spain—A Country of Many Contrasts

FREQUENT observations have been made on the influence of geography on the habits and customs of nations and individuals. The location of Spain and various geographic factors within her borders are said by many to explain various phases of her history as well as certain characteristics of her people.

Though very much a part of Europe, Spain occupies a position of almost isolation from the continent by virtue of being surrounded by water on three sides and separated from France to the north by mountains which make transportation very difficult. Spain's vast amount of coastline, formed by the Bay of Biscay on the north, the Atlantic Ocean on the west, and the Mediterranean Sea on the south and east, was an invitation and a challenge to her people of past years to look across the seas for trade. Somewhat remote from the rest of Europe and lying as she is astride one of the most important sea lanes in the world, it was natural that Spain sought colonies and commerce beyond her shores.

During the 16th century, the Spanish empire was one of the largest in the world, and was a serious rival to Great Britain's. Spanish holdings included colonies on the African continent, throughout the Americas, and in far Pacific regions. From the heights of being a major nation, Spain has since plummeted downward into the class of second and third rate countries.

Her territory today is centered almost entirely in the Iberian peninsula—within the continental borders of the nation itself—covering an area of 190,607 square miles, which is about one-fourth larger than our state of California. Her overseas possessions number only the Balearic Islands of the Mediterranean, a few sectors in Africa which include Spanish Morocco, and the Canary Islands off the coast of Africa. Together these colonies raise Spanish territory to a total of 196,507 square miles.

In view of her remoteness from the rest of Europe, one would think that Spain would have become a closely knit, unified nation. But that is not the case. Spain is a land of regions, outlined by geography, which during the centuries have shaped the personalities and characteristics of the people living within them. The Spanish people speak of their nation as "The Spains," evidence of conscious regional differences.

## Spain's Climate

Climate and topography have had much to do with Spain's regionalism. An overall picture of the country would show that it is located on a high plateau, with mountains running from east to west. Three main rivers water the interior, two of which flow into the Atlantic and one into the Mediterranean. The northwest area of the nation is washed by the Bay of Biscay and is surrounded on land by the high Cantabrian Mountains. The climate here—a temperate one—resembles that of French Brittany. The northeastern sector is a mountainous one, seat of the Pyrenees range. The central plateau, by and large, is hot and dry in summer and as cold as northern Europe in winter. To the south—along the Atlantic and Mediterranean shores—the climate is very pleasing and is much like that of southern Florida.



Spain produces a great deal of wool

There are as many divisions of Spanish people as there are various geographic regions. Galicians live in the northwest and make a living largely by fishing. Also in the north are the Basques—a mountain people who have few contacts with other Spaniards. Even their language is different from that spoken elsewhere in Spain, and, in fact, seems unlike any other European tongue. Southern Spain is the home of the descendants of the Moors who once ruled the nation. In Andalusia live a people of mixed Moorish, Berber, and Jewish blood. Also in the south are the Castilians, famous for their personal courage and their pride. To the east, centering around Barcelona, are the Catalonians who are more concerned with industry than with the pastoral life.

While 31 per cent is arable, the soil of Spain is not rich. Whether or not it is naturally infertile has been debated by experts. Although there are some rocky and mountainous sections which could never produce much in the way of agricultural products, there are others in which productivity could be

improved by careful and scientific planning.

Spain is chiefly an agricultural country, for 56 per cent of her working population is employed in farming. She is a large wheat producing nation. Some ten million acres are planted in this fundamental food, but insufficient rainfall and backward methods of farming make Spanish yields lower than those of nearby France. Corn is another important crop in Spain, as are barley, rice, cork, lemons, olives, grapes, oranges, onions, almonds, flax, and hemp. The wide variety of crops can be attributed to the climate which varies so much in the different sections.

Agricultural methods and systems differ throughout the nation. In the central and southern parts, large estates are operated in almost feudal fashion. Farm workers live in small villages nearby and go out from there to tend the crops. Wages paid to these workers are sometimes as low as \$25 per year. Northern farms provide a sharp contrast, for there the ownership of land is not concentrated so

heavily in the hands of a few. Many farmers own their land, and consequently earn a high income.

Since the Civil War of a few years ago agricultural production as a whole is lower, with yields in some cases 50 per cent less than those of 1936 and earlier. Fisheries have likewise been affected, but not as seriously. The result is that the people are seriously undernourished and have been for several years.

The great majority of Spaniards are Roman Catholics. With Franco's rise to power, Catholicism was made the state religion. This step returned to the church its holdings of land, which a previous government had severed from church connection. Protestantism, though permitted, is little known in Spain.

## Education in Spain

Spain has lagged far behind in educational progress. In 1930 it was ascertained that only half of the population was able to read and write. Shortly after that an intensive campaign was started to cut down on the illiteracy rate. High schools and universities enrolled substantial numbers of students, but the internal disturbances of the 1930's interrupted this program. Since 1939 the Catholic Church has been in control of the nation's schools with the result that the educational system is closely related to the established religion of the country.

Spain's industry is centered chiefly in the region of Catalonia. The leading products are paper, glass ware, and such textile manufactures as cotton goods, knitted garments, lace, and woollens.

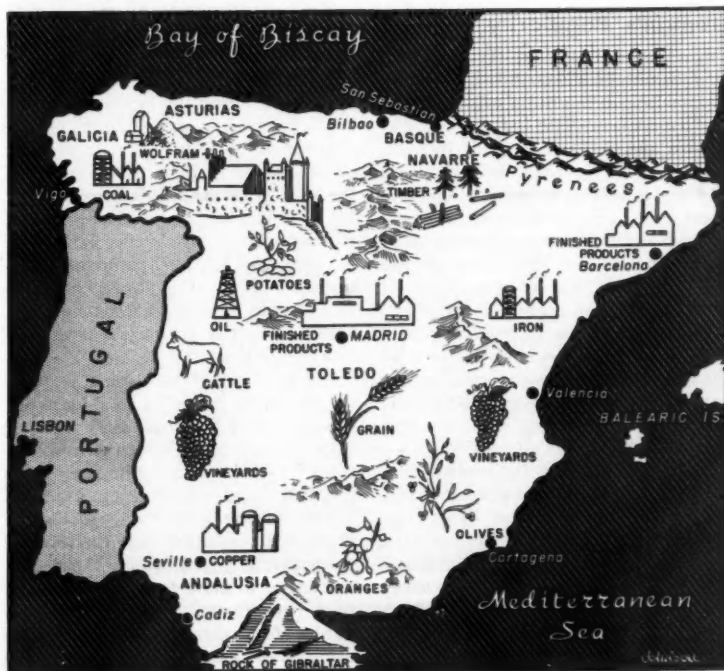
The mineral deposits of Spain are rich and varied. There is high quality iron which has been famous since the Middle Ages. More copper is produced in Spain than in any other European country, and there are sizable sources of mercury, tungsten, coal, zinc, quicksilver, lead, and pyrites.

These resources would sustain a thriving and expanding industrial system, but to date, Spain has not made the fullest possible use of them. For one thing, mining and smelting methods are not the best, and little skill along those lines has been developed so far.

It is strange but true that Spain still derives benefits from lands which once were her colonies. Through investments of private citizens, wealth still flows from these territories back to Spain.

While Spain's investments abroad, her mineral resources, and her agricultural production add up to a national wealth of substantial figure, there is a great discrepancy in the per capita national wealth and the per capita income. Wages are low, and there has been considerable unemployment even at a time when it was relatively scarce in the rest of the world. The Civil War and the Second World War have jarred Spanish economy and well-being.

Spain's hope for future prosperity seems to hinge on a revision of her feudal outlook in farming, for one thing, and further industrialization of the nation, for another. Her resources are plentiful, her location is good, and she has many advantages which would help to bring about a prospering, expanding economy.



Spain and some of her leading products

# The Story of the Week

## Secretary of State

The speedy confirmation by the Senate of James F. Byrnes, 66-year-old South Carolina Democrat chosen by President Truman to be secretary of state, was a token of the high regard in which that body holds its former member. The fact that he has served in both branches of the legislature and is well known and highly respected there indicates that the new secretary will be in an excellent position to help gain Congressional support for administration foreign policy.

Although he has never before held a regular cabinet position, Byrnes wielded powers exceeding those of any cabinet officer when he was Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion. At that time he was often called the "assistant President," for the scope of his duties and his responsibilities were second only to those of the late President Roosevelt, who appointed him. Now, Byrnes becomes the first in line of succession to the Presidency, unless the present succession law is changed by Congress.

Announcement of Byrnes' appointment, although withheld for several days after the news of Edward R. Stettinius' resignation, was no surprise to the nation. His old friend, Harry Truman, had called him to Washington at once when the death of Franklin Roosevelt threw the unfamiliar burdens of national leadership upon Truman's shoulders. Byrnes' careful notes taken at the meeting of the Big Three in Yalta have reportedly proved in-

valuable to President Truman in making decisions in the field of international affairs.

Byrnes is a natural, not a trained, diplomat. The former senator and Supreme Court justice is a great believer in the common sense approach to all problems. Because of this, many observers expect to see widespread changes within the Department of State as a result of his appointment. Although any thorough reorganization will probably be put off until after the Big Three meeting near Berlin this month, at which Byrnes will be present, chances are that with Truman's approval, "Jimmy" Byrnes will move in his usual forthright manner to expand but at the same time simplify the department of our government which will be intimately concerned with helping to keep the peace of the world.

## Strike Score

The rising tide of labor unrest which has been evident since V-E Day has now brought the total of striking workers throughout the country to almost 100,000. Detroit is the area most seriously affected, with approximately 50,000 men and women off their jobs. Chicago, Akron, and other leading industrial cities are also troubled by labor disputes.

Government officials blame union rivalries, unsettled grievances in war plants, and a reawakening struggle for local union leadership for the increase in industrial strife. Faced by the uncertainties of the reconversion period and eager to lay the groundwork for postwar security, groups within organized labor and individuals within the various groups are engaged in a race for power which, in many cases, has brought open conflict in its train.

Wartime hardships have also contributed to the spread of strikes. In several cities, workers have left their posts in protest against food shortages and have picketed local Office of Price Administration headquarters in an attempt to force improvement in the system of food distribution.

## Truman's Popularity

Now that President Truman has finished almost a quarter of a year in his new job, it might be expected that his "honeymoon" with the nation would be over and that critics would be making free and vigorous attacks on his administration. It is, therefore, to his great credit that criticism is at a very low ebb and that to an extremely high degree he enjoys the approval and good will not only of the public at large but also of Congress and of the persons with whom he has to work.

A recent coast-to-coast checkup by the Gallup Poll shows that nearly nine out of 10 Americans approve of the way Mr. Truman has been handling his job. In fact, his popularity rate—87 per cent—is slightly higher than the peak 84 per cent reached by President Roosevelt just after Pearl Harbor. (It should be noted, however, that the Gallup Poll did not begin operating until 1935, and therefore does not take into account the high popularity Mr. Roosevelt enjoyed during his first few years in office.)

It is also an important fact that the favorable reaction of Republicans is as



Senator Tom Connally of Texas, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is guiding the efforts to gain Senate approval of the United Nations Charter.

high as that of Democrats; moreover, all sections of the country seem united behind the President's policies.

It may be argued, of course, that Mr. Truman has not yet taken any stand which has dissatisfied any large group of voters. This does not deny, however, that people like him because he is extremely conscientious and hard-working, fair-minded, realistic, and vigorous. And above all, they trust him because of the simplicity which is his most outstanding characteristic.

Regardless of the reasons for the President's popularity, it is a favorable augury that Mr. Truman goes to the Big Three meeting this month with the nation solidly behind him.

## Aid to Siberia

At the request of President Truman and his highest military advisers, lend-lease aid to Siberian Russia is continuing, although all lend-lease aid to European Russia was curtailed after the end of the war against Germany. This disclosure was made by Leo T. Crowley, Foreign Economic Administrator, in a recent report to the House Appropriations Committee.

For security reasons, the actual amount of aid sought for future lend-lease assistance in that area is being withheld, but it has been revealed that it is second only to that being asked for Britain. Instead of making a commitment to furnish a certain amount of aid over a definite period of time, the plan is to make shipments on the basis of military requirements which will be continuously reviewed and must be approved by the President's military advisers. Whenever they, together with the President, decide that lend-lease aid is no longer necessary, it will be discontinued.

The reason for this departure from our policy of supplying lend-lease aid only to our military allies is the fact that Russia's Far Eastern Armies, although not at war with Japan, are keeping large numbers of Japanese immobilized in Manchuria. As long as there is a possibility that Russia may enter the war against her, Japan cannot afford to move these troops which have been ranged along the Siberian border for years and which include some of the best trained forces in the Japanese army. The larger the number of troops deployed on the Russian

side of the border, the larger must be the number of Japanese immobilized there instead of being available for action against our forces.

## Price Control

President Truman tossed one bouquet to Congress and another to the Office of Price Administration as he signed the bill which gave the rationing and price control agency another year's lease on life. He congratulated the Congress on having enacted a "sound and well considered statute." The OPA, as one of the nation's chief aids in stabilization and price control, was described as having served loyally and well in discharging "the unpleasant, thankless task of enforcing controls during a critical emergency."

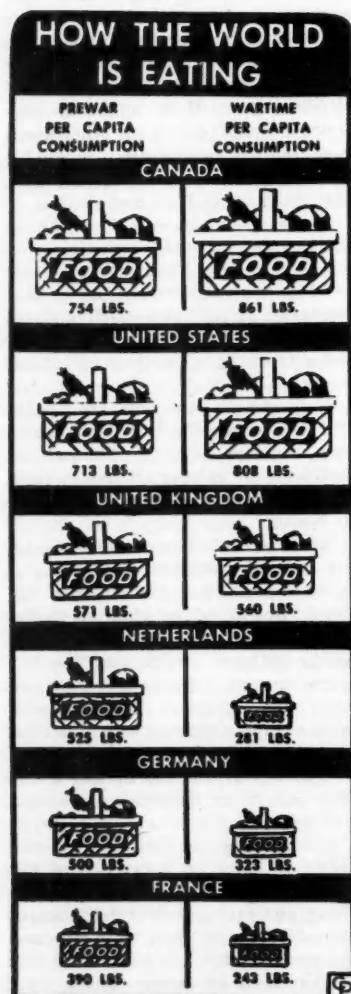
The bill was hurried through an un-



Comfort at altitudes of 80,000 feet is assured the flier who wears this new pressurized suit which provides warmth and oxygen, and enables the wearer to move with ease.

usual Saturday session in the House of Representatives where it passed by a vote of 225 to 94. Rushed to a waiting plane, it was flown to Kansas City where President Truman placed his signature on the measure just in time to prevent the expiration of OPA's price and rationing powers at midnight. His action marked the end of vigorous debate which began in the Senate last March.

Under the provisions of the new bill, Secretary of Agriculture Clinton P.



A few food facts

INT'L NEWS

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Anderson has the right to veto any wholesale price ceilings set by OPA on food, livestock, or other farm commodities. One of Anderson's first statements in his new position was that government agencies requiring food for military, lend-lease, or foreign aid should be required to assume full financial responsibility for the food they ask farmers to produce, regardless of whether they finally make use of it themselves.

Price Administrator Chester Bowles, although expressing his approval of the passage of the new measure, warned the nation that we are now entering the most difficult period in our fight against inflation. He pointed out the fact that it was at this point in the last war that the fight was lost.

### Czechoslovakia and Russia

The political events of the last few months leave little doubt that the nation of Czechoslovakia is to be firmly within the Soviet orbit politically, economically, and socially during the years to come. Acting in line with her own views of national self-interest, Russia is extending her influence over all the neighbors on or near her western border, and Czechoslovakia is no exception.

Czechoslovakia's new army will be Russian-trained and Russian-equipped. Certain economic developments, such as the extension of nationalization and social welfare service, are possibly Soviet-inspired. Moreover, Russia is taking an important part in the diplomatic affairs of Czechoslovakia, acting as an intermediary in the territorial disputes between that nation and Poland.

Finally, Czechoslovakia has agreed to cede to Russia the Carpatho-Ukraine, a mountainous 4,870-square-mile area at the extreme eastern end of the Czech state. The significance of this cession is diminished, however, by the fact that Czechoslovakia never really wanted the Carpatho-Ukraine, and the people of that area are not Czechs or Slovaks, but close relatives of the Russian Ukrainians.

It is hard to tell, as yet, how far Russian influence will go in this little nation. During her brief span of independent life after the last war, Czechoslovakia was an island of democracy in eastern Europe, where political practice and international diplomacy were noted for their enlightenment and vigor. Czechoslovakia was subservient to no one, although she was closely bound by alliance to France. Thus while it is natural that Czechoslovakia must of necessity now seek her security in friendship with Russia in the new European alignment, it is to be expected that Czech leaders will seek to retain a maximum of freedom within the new framework.

### Dardanelles Dispute

The Dardanelles, sole gateway from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, have long been of interest to Russia. Eager to safeguard her warm water exit to the Atlantic, she has wanted a dominant voice in the control of these strategic straits. And now that her power and prestige in Europe are at their peak, she is applying pressure on Turkey to get it.

Russia's nonaggression treaty with Turkey expires in December of this year, and Russia has announced that she will sign a new treaty only if her

demands respecting the Dardanelles are met. While Turkey exercises primary control over the straits, fulfillment of Russia's demands would involve more than Turkish concessions. It would also mean revision of the Montreux Convention, an international agreement regulating the movement of naval and merchant vessels through the straits.

This convention gives Britain, France, Australia, and Japan a voice in the administration of the Dardanelles as well as the Balkan nations concerned with them by virtue of their geographic position. If Turkey can be won over to the Soviet point of view, however, these nations are not likely to stand in the way of a revision giving Russia the favored position she desires. Japan, of course, is no longer to be considered, and of the other non-Balkan nations involved, only Britain is expected to raise objections to the new arrangement. It is a foregone conclusion that Yugoslavia, Rumania, and Bulgaria will side with Russia.

### News in Argentina

Although the domestic censorship in Argentina is, for all practical purposes, as severe as ever, the Argentine people are getting more of the truth about world affairs than the Farrell government would wish. Newspapers in this South American country have found a clever and fairly safe way of printing the whole news by taking advantage of freedom of censorship recently granted to foreign correspondents.

The method is simple: dispatches sent from Buenos Aires by American correspondents are transmitted back to Argentina by American news services, and republished under the datelines of North American cities. Thus, for example, Buenos Aires newspapers recently carried stories with a New York dateline which told about how the Farrell government had tried to intimidate the New York Times' correspondent, Arnaldo Cortesi, and prevent him from sending out unfavorable political reports. Other stories revealed details about torture used against Argentine political prisoners,



This vast staging area, located 18 miles north of Marseille, France, is preparing American equipment for shipment to the Pacific. The zone covers an area of more than 10 square miles.

and about quarrels and conflicts within the Argentine government itself.

Of course the Argentine government and army are not happy about this evasion of domestic censorship, but there seems little they can do to stop it so long as they keep their promise not to censor dispatches of foreign correspondents.

### German Communists

The German Communist Party, driven underground in 1933 when Hitler came to power, is now being reborn in the Russian-administered Berlin area. It is, however, a different party, standing for a different set of political principles, than was the case in the pre-Nazi era.

Instead of calling for collectivization of German life, it asks that an anti-fascist regime be established within a democratic parliamentary republic. This means full respect for private property and the rights of individuals.

The new German Communist program also calls for a purge of Nazi elements within the Reich, for the re-

establishment of trade unions, and for government regulation of wages and working conditions.

Before Hitler came to power, the Communist Party was the third largest in Germany. At one time, it boasted 100 deputies in the Reichstag, and, in the election of 1932, its presidential candidate received almost 6,000,000 votes—about a fifth of all the votes cast.

## NEWS QUIZ

1. What do the initials FEPC stand for, and what is the purpose of the agency?
2. Briefly list the three general types of complaints which the FEPC has handled.
3. What means has the FEPC had with which to enforce its decisions?
4. With what group in the nation's population have most of the cases handled by the FEPC been concerned?
5. Tell the main arguments which have been advanced in favor of continuing the FEPC, and the main arguments raised against it.
6. What has been the Allied attitude toward Spain thus far during the war?
7. In what way did the San Francisco Conference take a stand against the Franco government?
8. What past and present activities of the present Spanish government have aroused criticism from the United Nations?
9. Why are the nations going slow before exerting their influence to topple the Franco regime?
10. In what ways is Franco trying to dispel criticism, and what is the reaction toward his attempts?
11. What is wrong with Spanish agriculture and industries?
12. In what way are the affairs of the world security organization being handled until the required number of nations ratify the treaty?

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Sailors on an American warship in Borneo receive an enthusiastic welcome from a native "fleet"

# Congress and the FEPC

(Concluded from page 1)

This FEPC was largely advisory in character, and was financed entirely with money from the President's emergency war funds. On May 27, 1943, it was replaced by a new committee with much more authority, also established by the President on the strength of his special war powers. In 1944 Congress granted an appropriation of \$500,000 a year for the agency, and by the time of the political campaign strong bi-partisan support had developed for a permanent FEPC.

As re-established by the President in 1943, FEPC held jurisdiction over discrimination complaints against (1) all agencies of the federal government, except the Army, (2) all employers, and unions of their employees, having government contracts forbidding discrimination, regardless of whether the

Manpower Commission may put pressure on a recalcitrant employer by lowering his ceiling number of employees, or granting to his employees certificates of availability which will permit them to accept other jobs.

Similarly, if employees in a firm under FEPC's jurisdiction strike or demonstrate against the hiring of minority workers, the War Manpower Commission may take away from them the certificates of availability which they must have to get jobs.

During 1944, FEPC placed 3,835 cases on its docket and closed 3,712 cases. Satisfactory adjustments were obtained in about a third of the closed cases. Insufficient evidence, lack of merit, or lack of jurisdiction were the principal reasons for dismissal in the others. Approximately 80 per cent of the cases concerned discrimination against Negroes; most of the others were against Jews or aliens. About two-thirds of the complaints involved industry, one-fourth government, and the remainder labor unions.

The drive to secure a permanent anti-discrimination agency in the federal government has been paralleled by similar action in some states. Before 1945, 13 states—California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin—had passed some kind of anti-discrimination laws. However, it must be pointed out that most of these laws are not very broad and most of them are not well enforced. A total of 20 anti-discrimination laws have been introduced in state legislatures this year.

New York has gone further than any other state in this matter. It has on the books a series of anti-discrimination laws dating back to 1909, and early this year these laws were consolidated in one thoroughgoing act which went into effect on the first of this month. The New York law establishes a five-man State Commission Against Discrimination which has broad powers to prevent racial or religious discrimination by any employer or labor union. Unlike the federal FEPC, this commission may take its cases to court, and legal penalties are provided for violation.

According to indications as this paper goes to press, the future campaign against discriminatory employment practices may be continued solely by the states, since the outlook for a federal FEPC seems very uncertain.



Most of the cases handled by the FEPC have involved discrimination against Negroes.

contracts pertain to the war effort, and (3) all employers and unions of their employees in war industries, whether or not they have contracts with the government itself.

The authority of the agency was not extended, however, to a large number of privately owned and operated enterprises which, although they engage in interstate commerce, are not considered essential to the war effort. Most retail establishments and local services, such as cleaners, beauty salons, and professional offices, were excepted.

Discrimination was defined broadly to include not only refusal to hire, but also such things as subjecting a member of a minority group to inferior working conditions, failure to use minority workers at their highest levels of skill, unequal pay for equal work, and unwarranted dismissal. In the case of unions, it includes refusal to accept members of minority groups for membership, or denial to such persons of rights and privileges within the union held by other members.

The method used by FEPC is as follows: after a signed complaint is received, a representative of the committee makes an investigation of the alleged discrimination. If he finds evidence to substantiate the charge he tries to work out some solution to eliminate the discrimination. If these negotiations fail, the case is referred to the full committee, which may hold public hearings and hand down a decision on what action should be taken.

The order establishing FEPC did not grant it the right to go into court to enforce its decisions. However, if a serious case of non-compliance is uncovered, other war agencies throw their support to FEPC in correcting the situation. For example, the War



Those who support the FEPC argue that if minority groups are called upon to risk their lives for the nation they should be guaranteed a fair deal at home

While official support for the FEPC idea was gaining headway last summer, opposition was also strengthened among certain groups. Bills to establish a permanent agency in the field were reported by the Labor Committees of both houses during the fall, but did not come to a vote in either case and had to be reintroduced in the 79th Congress. Meanwhile southern members of Congress began attempts to block appropriations for FEPC.

The recent struggle over FEPC involves, first of all, the question of continuing the temporary war agency. Last year Congress ruled that no agency established for more than a year may use government funds not specifically appropriated for it. Therefore if FEPC were to continue, Congress must provide money. However, when the House passed the \$800,000,000 War Agencies Appropriations Bill for the next fiscal year, it left FEPC out on the grounds that a separate bill should decide whether to prolong the life of the agency. In the Senate special action to permit that body to add an amendment providing FEPC funds was blocked temporarily by a filibuster on the part of southern senators.

The second part of the FEPC struggle concerns two bills (sponsored by Senator Chavez, Democrat of New Mexico, and Representative Norton, New Jersey Democrat) which would make the FEPC permanent, extend its jurisdiction, and give it power to enforce its decisions in the courts. In the House the bill has been bottled up by the Rules Committee, which clears legislation for presentation to

the House. A majority of the members of this committee are opposed to the legislation, and the 281 signatures of House members necessary on a petition to force the bill to the floor for a vote have not yet been secured. Even should the bill pass the House, it would likely face filibuster in the Senate. Thus from every standpoint the future of FEPC is dark.

Those who advocate a permanent FEPC contend that discrimination against minority groups is incompatible with American democratic traditions. It is pointed out that the Army has discovered widespread efforts by the Japanese to use racial prejudices in America as a propaganda weapon to persuade Asiatic peoples that this is a "white man's war."

It is also argued that employment discrimination is a constant threat to industrial peace. Still worse, it forces large groups of the population into permanently substandard living conditions, thus aggravating the social and economic problems which help drag down the entire American standard of living.

Since employment gains by minority groups have been especially marked in the industries which will be most seriously affected by reconversion, it is feared that these minority groups will suffer disproportionately during the readjustment period if they are not given legal protection.

Opponents of the FEPC fall into two chief groups. On the one hand are those who oppose it because they dislike certain minority groups and wish to continue discriminatory practices. A study of the Congressional Record indicates that the most vocal opponents in Congress are of this group.

On the other hand are those who sincerely deplore discrimination of all kinds but who feel that the compulsion features of the proposed law are undesirable. They express doubt that tolerance and justice for minorities can be forced by law, and advocate that education rather than compulsion be used to reduce racial and religious prejudice.

Some argue that the bill would be unworkable; others contend that it would have the effect of accentuating and stressing the differences between various groups, thus doing more harm than good.

Regardless of the merits of the dispute, most observers agree that the problems which led to FEPC's creation will grow worse during the period of transition to peace.



Among the leading supporters of the FEPC in Congress are Representative Mary Norton of New Jersey and Senator Dennis Chavez of New Mexico.



# Nations Prepare to Ratify Charter

WHEN the United Nations Conference on International Organization drew to a close in San Francisco on June 26 it had completed the first step on the road to world organization for peace. As the delegates of the 50 nations represented placed their signatures on the document over which they had labored for nine weeks, they were finishing their first task and beginning their second. For after signing the charter, each delegate also signed an agreement setting up an interim commission to carry on the work of San Francisco until the world organization outlined in the charter becomes a reality.

This interim group, known officially as the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations, held its first session on the day after the signing of the charter, in San Francisco. Comprised of the heads of the 50 delegations from the United Nations, the commission will operate through an executive committee of 14 members until the ratification of the charter by a minimum of 28 nations, including the Big Five.

The membership of the commission's executive committee is the same as that of the executive committee of the United Nations Conference—Australia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, France, Iran, Mexico, the Netherlands, Russia, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Yugoslavia. The commission turned over to the United Kingdom the responsibility for calling together the other 13 members of the executive committee which will meet in London, probably in August.

President Truman announced the appointment of Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., head of the United States delegation at San Francisco, to be our representative on the executive council. Mr. Stettinius, who resigned his position as Secretary of State, will thus be in a position to carry out the plans which he has been helping to formulate at San Francisco. Although no other representatives had been named at the time of writing, the name of Lord Halifax, British ambassador to the United States, had been mentioned as the possible British choice.

The first duty of the executive committee will be to organize itself. In all probability some members of the old League of Nations secretariat will be called into service. One of the duties which will be watched with great interest will be the choice of a tentative site as a permanent headquarters of the United Nations. It must also prepare recommendations for disposing of certain assets, activities, and functions of the old League of Nations, or for transferring them to the new world organization.

In addition, the executive committee will be responsible for preparing provisional arrangements for the first meetings of the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and the Trusteeship Council. Plans must be worked out for setting up a permanent secretariat and nominations for candidates to the International Court of Justice must be sent out. As soon as the charter takes effect, the executive committee will call the Preparatory Commission into session, and final action to start the machinery of the world organization moving will be taken.

Although the official charter signed by the delegates will be kept in the United States Government Archives

until the permanent seat of the United Nations organization is established, the remainder of the documents from the conference, estimated to weigh about 20 tons, will be sent to Britain in preparation for the meeting of the executive committee.

It is hoped that the second big step on the road to world organization will be completed before the end of the year. Most observers feel that this depends to a large extent on the action of the United States Senate, which must support the charter by a two-thirds majority. President Truman, who will affix his signature in final approval, has asked for speedy ratification, and indications are that the temper of the country is so plainly

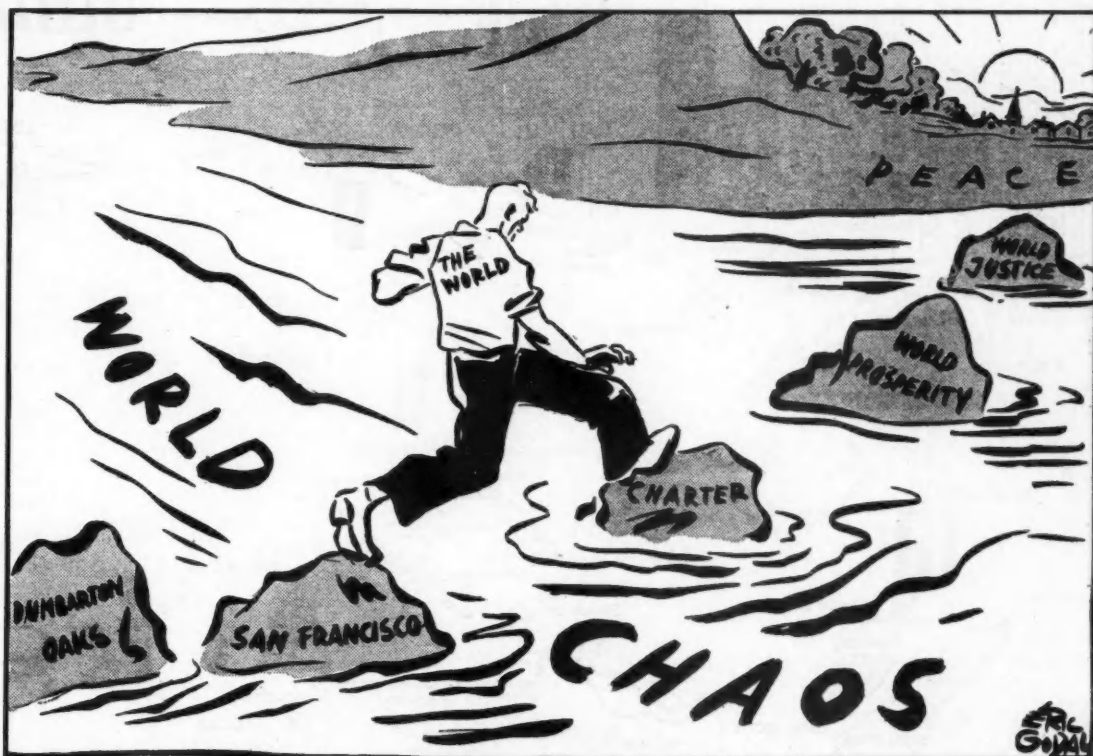
Nations. Her position during the war with Germany and her motives have been repeatedly questioned. But within two days of the closing events in San Francisco, Argentina's foreign minister had announced that a decree would be issued ratifying the charter. Admitting that this would normally be done by the Congress, he added that in view of the "special Argentine situation" it would be done by decree to insure speedy action. Another government which will deal with the problem of ratification very simply is Saudi Arabia. The only requirement is approval of King Ibn Saud.

Since the approval of the Big Five is a prerequisite, the methods those governments use for ratification of

the Praesidium and it is his signature which will be affixed.

Among the small nations which might be expected to ratify the charter most willingly, Greece occupies much the same position as does France among the great powers. Greece must form a new constituent assembly which in turn must draw up a new constitution providing means for ratification of treaties. However, until such action is taken, a "legislative decree" signed by Archbishop Damaskinos, the regent, by Prime Minister Petros Voulgaris, and by members of the cabinet will suffice.

In Belgium and the Netherlands, both the upper and lower houses of the legislature must approve treaties be-



A Big Step

united in approving the work accomplished at San Francisco that any opposition to joining the new league will be overcome with little difficulty.

Whether or not the other 50 nations fall into line immediately remains to be seen. The methods of ratification involved, and the forms of government included, are so varied that there may be delays in some instances which have no bearing on the eagerness of the particular nation involved to support the cause of international peace.

France, for example, has long been a supporter of world organization for peace. Her approval is required before the charter can become operative. But France is in the awkward position of having no elected representatives who are empowered to ratify the charter. Elections must be held before there will be a Senate and Chamber of Deputies to give their approval and before there will be a President to complete the ratification.

On the other hand, Argentina, the last arrival at the San Francisco conference, may well be one of the first to give final approval to the Charter. Argentina's present form of government has aroused much criticism among other members of the United

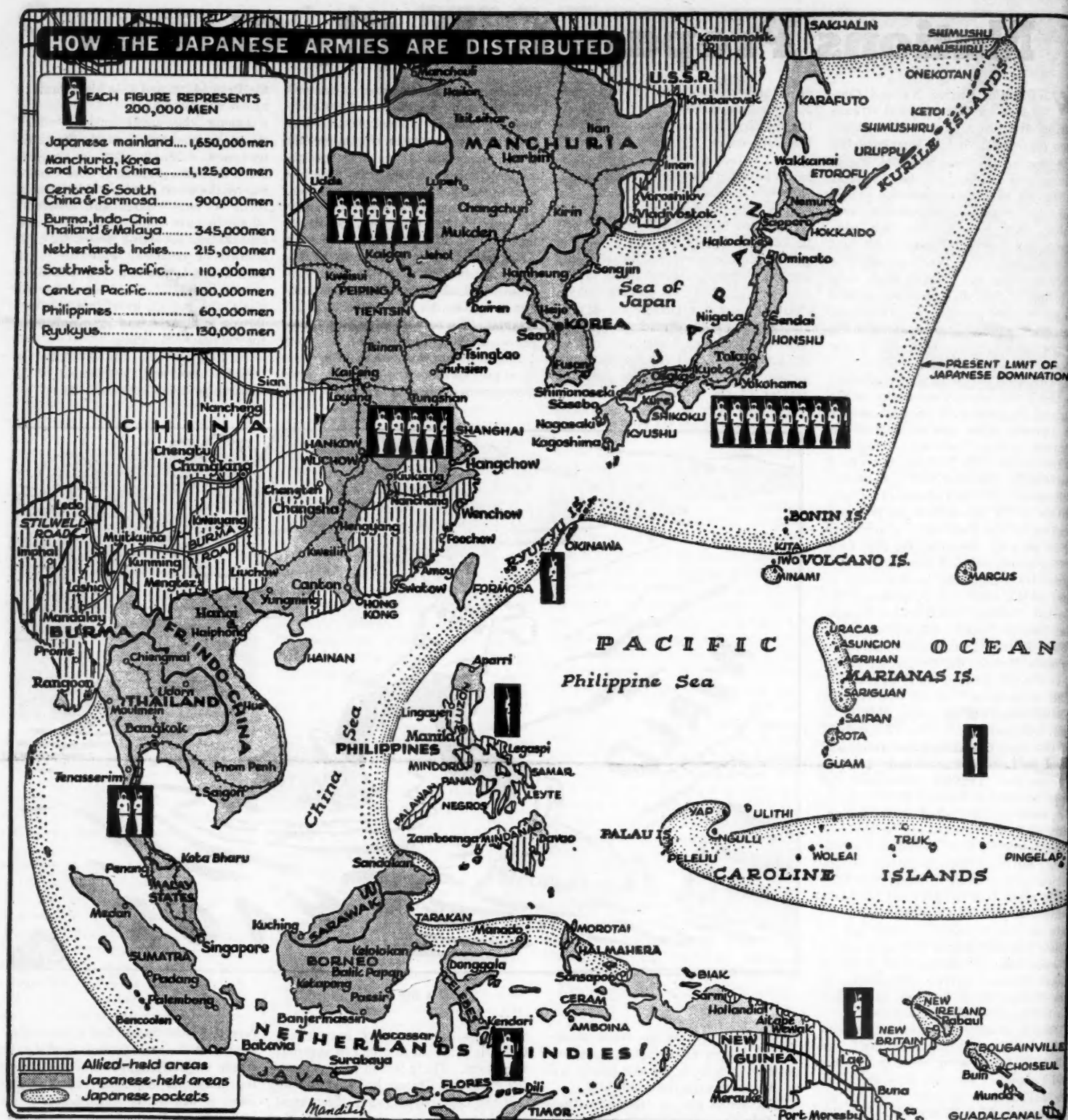
treaties assume primary importance. China is expected to give full approval very soon. There it will be necessary for President Chiang Kai-shek to consult the Legislative Yuan, which must so advise him if he is to ratify the measure.

Because of the importance of the charter, it will be placed before the Parliament of Great Britain for discussion, although the King has the power to ratify treaties in executive council; that is, with the consent of his ministers. There is little doubt that the desired approval will be forthcoming from the Parliament, but should it be withheld, the government would probably resign and call for a vote of confidence on the issue.

According to the Russian constitution, treaties must be ratified by the Praesidium of the Supreme Council of the Union. However, it is expected that in this case the Foreign Commissariat will submit the charter to the Council of People's Commissars, which will discuss and approve it before ratification by the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet Council. Although Joseph Stalin is President of the Council of People's Commissars, Mikhail I. Kalinin is the elected President of

fore they can be ratified by the monarch, and the same is true in Norway, where majority approval of the *Storting* must be obtained before King Haakon can make ratification final. Both legislative chambers of the Czechoslovakian government must hear two readings of the charter before they can give their consent to ratification by President Eduard Benes.

At first glance the problem of securing the approval of fifty sovereign nations whose interests have been so diverse in the past seems immense. But with the first step taken, agreement on the contents of the charter, the second should be easier. The thorough discussion of points upon which there was disagreement at San Francisco has cleared away many of the stumbling blocks which might have impeded action in the national legislatures. This, plus the fact that this world organization will be a continuation, in many respects, of co-operative efforts which have withstood the strains of the war years, is an encouraging indication that we may achieve world cooperation for peace.



## Next Moves on Road to Tokyo

**N**OW that Okinawa is completely under American control, our forces are tightening still further their air and sea blockade around Japan in an effort to cut down her outside supplies of food and raw materials. The Japanese, meanwhile, are accepting even stricter measures of regimentation than they have known in the past, and are talking desperately of new suicide weapons with which they will "amaze" the world.

The enemy's attempts to explain away the loss of Okinawa are feeble, and would scarcely seem convincing even to Japanese ears. For the island lies but 330 miles from Japan and 400 miles from the coast of China—an excellent base from which to send the large-scale air attacks promised by General of the Army Henry Arnold, chief of the air forces.

From Okinawa, too, will be sent future invasion forces. The only question is whether they will head for Japan or China. Those who favor going direct to the enemy homeland say that route will bring about a quicker end to the war. It would knock out vital industries and place the bulk of the population

under our control, meanwhile postponing the destruction of enemy forces on the Asiatic mainland.

Such a plan, it is said, does not mean that we would not secure in advance some bases on the China coast. But instead of using them immediately to drive the enemy out of China altogether, we would turn toward Japan as quickly as possible.

In opposition to this plan are those who believe that we should land in China, join forces with the Chinese, and liberate much of that nation as well as Manchuria before going to Japan. They argue that this would be done at less risk than moving to invade Japan first and that it would squeeze the enemy back into his small and mountainous home islands, where he would have little chance of moving about to prolong the war.

The Japanese are therefore in somewhat the same position that the Germans occupied before the invasion of France. They have lost many of their wartime gains, and have suffered casualties and destruction. And they know that an invasion is forthcoming. Like the Germans did in June 1944, however,

the Japanese still dominate a wide area. As the above map shows, their estimated forces are considerable in number.

It is safe to assume, moreover, that the Japanese will continue to fight as desperately as they did in defense of Iwo Jima and Okinawa. Despite the fact that a surprising number of them surrendered during the Okinawa campaign, the vast bulk of the defenders accepted death rather than give up.

Nor can it be forgotten that the victory cost us the loss of 33 ships and damage to more than 50 others. Japanese suicide pilots accounted for most of the toll, thus accomplishing more than the Japanese navy has managed to do to us in many months.

So far the remainder of the war against Japan is largely in American hands, with some assistance from China, Australia, and Britain. Russia has shown no additional signs of entering the conflict soon, but there is always the possibility that she will. We are sending lend-lease supplies to her forces in Siberia for the declared purpose of enabling them to stand as a threat to Japan.

NEW YORK TIMES



